

Ngoni of northern Nyasaland for a similar situation which ended in the relatively peaceful incorporation of the tribe into the framework of colonial administration. But in northern Nyasaland there were no gold-mines, there were only missionaries. Johnston admits that the presence of mission stations among the northern Nyasaland Ngoni embarrassed him, and he refrained from using force against them in 1895 because this might have interfered with missionary activity.⁹⁹ In Mpezeni's country there were no mission stations and, as it happened, no gold-mines worth worrying about either; but by the time this fact had been realized it had ceased to be significant for the Ngoni. The North Charterland was formed in the belief that Mpezeni's country was rich. The capital of the company, not all paid up, was £1,000,000 and in 1897 it offered a reward of £10,000 to the discoverer of the first payable gold-field in its concession.¹⁰⁰ Given the fact that wealth of this magnitude was at stake, that there was gold to be found, and given the tactlessness of Warton and the intransigence of Nsingu, it was likely that war would come sooner or later.

As it was, the end of the Ngoni State as a sovereign political unit and its incorporation within a colonial empire came suddenly. Instead of the gradual formation of new groupings and alignments, the new system began as suddenly as the old system ended. We tend to think of the arrival of Europeans in the backwoods of Africa as a gradual process extending through many decades, and indeed even in Ngoniland there were Europeans for at least thirteen years prior to the war. Yet to old Ngoni of to-day the coming of the Europeans is a precisely defined event which took place on 19 January 1898.

The sequence of events which culminated in the fighting was as follows. In May 1897 some of Mpezeni's people began to build shelters and clear gardens at the headwaters of the River Bua, just inside the Nyasaland Protectorate. Sharpe, who had succeeded Johnston as Commissioner, was at first not greatly pleased, but instructed the Collector at Kotakota to make clear to Mpezeni that he would have to conform to the wishes of the Administration. A peaceful settlement between Mpezeni and the British seemed possible, and on second thoughts Sharpe was pleased to see, as he thought, Mpezeni removed from the sphere of influence of the North Charterland and the B.S.A. Company, who might have taken action against him and precipitated a crisis. However, the Collector was single-handed and it seems that he was unable to

⁹⁹ *A & P*, 1896, lviii, p. 437.

¹⁰⁰ *African Review*, xiii, 254 (2 October 1897), p. 24.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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villages fairly astonished me; and it was not till then that I realized what a powerful and prosperous people were those whose acquaintance I was about to make.¹³⁷

We may compare this description of conditions in 1896 with that given by Trapnell for the same area in 1938.

'... Reserve II presents an example of combined cutting-out, soil-deterioration and erosion which probably has no equal in the Territory. ... Cattle are most numerous in this reserve, and ... their added burden on the land has doubtless helped to weigh the scales to the point of erosion. With cattle and an excessive population in Mpezeni's and Maguya's country, surface compaction and deterioration of soil have come to give place to wholesale wash, and denuded belts of resting land are now to be seen seared by dongas fully ten feet deep. The enormous gullied scars down the face of Nyamfinsi and neighbouring hills provide notable examples of the effects of millet cultivation on impossible slopes.'¹³⁸

The devastation described by Trapnell has come about in part on account of the alienation of land to Whites, but it is also due to the transition which the Ngoni have been forced to make from living as migrant brigands to working as subsistence cultivators and migrant labourers. Even without alienation, it is likely that the large villages would have disappeared.

The population of the tribe immediately prior to the conquest was estimated by Deare to be 40,000 and possibly more. Johnston, in his highly ambitious population density map, appears to have assumed a population of about 50,000, while an official estimate in 1898 was nearly 150,000.¹³⁹ The area of Mpezeni's country was estimated by Angus to be about 400 square miles. He also delimits an area of about 2,700 square miles which he describes as 'Angoniland proper', but it is clear that this large area includes much waterless uninhabited country. Johnston implies, on his map, an inhabited area of 3,200 square miles, but again there is clear evidence that in fact much of this was uninhabited. In 1903 it was estimated that the area within which the Ngoni kept their cattle before the conquest was about 600 square miles.¹⁴⁰ Angus's lower estimate is in accord with the distances between villages given by travellers

¹³⁷ Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 78.

¹³⁸ Trapnell, *Ecological Survey*, pp. 67, 71.

¹³⁹ Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May; *A & P*, 1894, lvii, p. 769; *B.C.A.G.*, v, 3 (26 February 1898), p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', pp. 74, 78; *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 11 (1 June 1896), p. 1; *Reports on the Administration*, 1903, p. 19.

THE NGONI POLITICAL SYSTEM

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766 to its use at the *incwala* ceremony and dance was a reminder of the former belief in the close connexion between the health and strength of the Paramount and the fertility of the land and its crops, a belief which had its counterpart in the cremation of the Paramount and the sweeping of the ashes into the river to fertilize the land.

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796 The *incwala*, or ceremony of the first-fruits, was of great importance among the Swazi, and the Ngoni 'took it with them' when they left the south. Among the northern and central Ngoni the tradition of the ceremony remained, but the practice was given up before the kingdoms were finally established. Cibambo collected from the old men in the northern kingdom the following account of what took place at the *incwala*:

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424] ¶ Among the dances of the Ngoni, *ngoma*, *umsindo*, *ligubo*, *incwala* was the best and most important. They say it lasted about two weeks, or if it began when the moon was full until it became new again. When they said [178] '*incwala* is closed', no one sings or dances it again; when it begins everyone sings the songs of *incwala* and no others. This dance belonged to the Paramount of the whole country. A description of *incwala* is difficult because it was given up long ago. Even the old people of today have never seen it.

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224] It began in the middle of the month of *Intokoni* (January). Young men were sent to look for ripe food in the gardens by streams. The owners had not picked any nor was much of the crop nearly ready. They took some juicy stalks of maize, and pumpkins with their roots. They also looked for a wild fruit like a gourd, very bitter, which some people use to stir up their dogs to make them fierce in hunting and quick in scent. This fruit [the Ngoni call *igumuxo*. These they mix with medicines and the *inkosi* eats it without the people knowing. The belief was that if the Paramount ate the first-fruits carelessly, or if the people were the first to taste the first-fruits of the year, there would be disaster for the *inkosi* and the country. After a month, when the crops were ripening, the *incwala* began, the crops not being completely ripe and no one having yet tasted the new crops.

[535] In the month of February the *inkosi* announced that everywhere the *incwala ye'inkosi* should begin on such-and-such a day. Quickly much beer was cooked in all the villages by everyone. On the day the beer-making began, the dance began also. The word was sent round everywhere: *incwala seigcabulive*, '*incwala* is now opened'. All the people went to the central village of Elangeni, the village of Hlacwayo. They took crops which had been planted in December, *impala*, and added the first *igumuxo* fruit to them. Great crowds of people gathered at Elangeni and danced. Many were in the kraal but many more were dancing outside. All were dressed carefully. They danced with reeds in their hands or with the sticks of their shields. It seemed as though the song everywhere was the same. Women going for wood and water, and children and youths, wherever they went, the song was on their lips. In dancing the women were by themselves, and the men by themselves. They faced each other in the dance. They were bending their bodies backwards and forwards, and moving their necks and shoulders.

THE PARAMOUNT

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The *inkosi* was all this time as if he were mourning and fasting. He was in the house. His body was painted with medicines, black, red and white; and round his loins was painted with black medicine. He was kept naked except for the cover of his foreskin. They fed him with the first-fruits mixed with medicines. They said that both the Paramount and all the people were fasting and under discipline at that time.

When the time for closing the *incwala* came, they again took the fruit *igumuso* and threw it in among the dancers and called out '*incwala seimbonyiso*', 'the *incwala* is closed'. Then the people began to separate and to go home, still with the songs on their lips, and on the way cutting juicy stalks of new maize and picking leaves of pumpkins, which meant that the new crops were set free.

These two fragments of the old *incwala* songs, which, like the war songs, were full of 'sounds' like *zi zi*, *oxi ya*, were the only ones preserved. They were known only by one or two old men among the northern and central Ngoni.

1. He comes the one who hates the chief.
Did you not see him?
You have seen him.
2. You who are rejected
They are carrying him lightly
To thrash him
He, the stiff-necked one.

The Royal Shadow

The special relationship between a new *inkosi* of the Maseko clan and a member of the Ngozo clan was personal and individual. I have translated it as 'royal shadow', since in discussing the relationship with leading members of the Ngozo, Nzunga and Phungwako clans the word *mtunzi* was the one most frequently used. *Mtunzi* is the term used for the shadow of a person or object cast by the sun; also for shade from the sun; also in modern phraseology for a photograph, when it is generally used in its double form, *mtunzitungi*. In the descriptions of this relationship there seemed almost a reluctance to use a definite term. The informants kept on saying that the Ngozo boy was *monga mtunzi*, like a shadow. While they enumerated the many things he did with the Paramount, they avoided giving him or his relationship any specific name.

This relationship began at the accession of a new Paramount and lasted until his death when the Ngozo man leaped on to the funeral pyre, and it was marked by certain special features. On the death of the old Paramount, and before the new Paramount was given the medicine for strengthening him, a boy of the Ngozo clan was sent 'to enter the chieftainship' with the Paramount. Many cattle from the herd belonging to the big house were given to the Ngozo family from whom the boy

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THE THRESHOLD OF ADULthood (II)

the Paramount and all the Ngoni leaders. Part of their excitement was expressed by the youths in whistling, an accomplishment much esteemed by the Ngoni. Herd-boys learned to whistle in one fashion in imitation of birds to lure them to the traps. They whistled in another way to make the cattle move faster to and from the grazing grounds, and in a more provocative way to stir up the bulls to fight. They whistled signals to each other over long distances across the valleys, and they practised whistling at all kinds of times 'to make the tongue more nimble'. By the time they were young men they were skilled whistlers, ready to perform as an accompaniment to the individual dancers celebrating a lion kill, or to the team of youths and girls in the *ngoma* dance.

Other skills

After the wealth to be earned from cattle, the excitement of the chase and the fame acquired by lion-hunts, most other pursuits seemed tame to young Ngoni men, especially those related to cultivation. They got some fun however out of the occasional communal hoeing-parties for clearing new land, or terracing land already cleared. A gang of young men would challenge another to do an appointed task in a given time. The two parties would fall to, hoeing in a line, shouting encouragement to each other and insults to their rivals such as: 'You! You are just women. See how you hoe with your arms bent'—with bursts of whistling and singing to keep up the tempo of work.

The same gang spirit, calling for swift co-ordination and good humour, showed in the role played by young men when a hut was being built. Their part was to dig a wide shallow pit, break up the clods of earth, and pour in water carried to them by the women. Then they trampled the mud until it was mixed ready for the women to plaster on the walls. As they trampled they sang and whistled and stamped with the high knee-bending movement of the *ngoma* dance, emerging finally red-brown from toe to thigh, laughing at

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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that despite the vicissitudes of history there is some unbroken but continually changing system of social relationships which we may call Ngoni social structure, and that there is therefore some point in comparing Ngoni marriage in the 1890's with Ngoni marriage to-day; and on the other hand may prepare the way for a broader analysis of Ngoni kinship, of which marriage is one part.

The Fort Jameson Ngoni, with whom alone we are concerned in this paper, differ considerably from the other Ngoni groups in Africa and there is evidence that there are differences in marriage arrangements even from the nearby groups in Northern and Southern Nyasaland. The Fort Jameson Ngoni, numbering about 85,000, live in the Fort Jameson District of Northern Rhodesia and in the Fort Manning division of Lilongwe District of Nyasaland. Their country stretches from 13°25'S to 14°S latitude and from 32°10'E to 35°15'E longitude. Like other Ngoni groups they have a history of migration from Natal at the time of the rise of the Zulu under Shaka in the 1820's. They arrived at their present abode in about 1870 and were conquered by British troops in 1898. The leader of the group was Mpezeni I, and the present Paramount Chief, Mpezeni III, is his son's son's son. There are ten county chieftainships in Northern Rhodesia and two in Nyasaland, and each chief has his own court. The people live by subsistence cultivation, with maize as the main crop. A little maize and some cattle are sold to the local European-owned tobacco farms and in the township of Fort Jameson, but the principal source of money income is work on the farms or at the urban centres of Southern Rhodesia and the railway line of Northern Rhodesia. Many women and almost all men have been to Southern Rhodesia at some time or other^{*}.

^{*} For an outline account of the social structure of this group, see Barnes, 'The Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 194 - 202 in Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman, eds., *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1961.

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[241] Wiese suggests that the woman only gradually transferred her place of residence from her father's village to that of her husband.¹⁹ If the husband and wife quarrelled, the woman ran away to her father's village for protection, and had to be persuaded to return by her husband. It is difficult to find out if there was any obligation on the man to labour for his father-in-law. Such an obligation exists to-day, but informants like to maintain that in the past the Ngoni never troubled themselves with agriculture, but lived entirely on beer, meat, and raided crops. But we know from contemporary writers that they did have gardens, although they may perhaps have been cultivated only by recent captives and by women.

An important obligation on the man was to avoid his wife's mother. He did not speak to her, went off into the bush if he met her on a path, and did not pass in front of her hut. With his father-in-law he was formal and reserved, but he did speak to him. These patterns were established at betrothal, and with the passage of years were gradually set aside. The final ceremony in which the man ate with his mother-in-law was the social recognition of his successful performance of the role of son-in-law and of husband to their daughter. Even after this ceremony he could not sit on the same mat as his mother-in-law. The position of the woman in respect to her parents-in-law was much easier, and she did not avoid them or their hut.

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602 As a result of these formal and informal modes of interaction between the man's group and the woman's group, links of affinity were established which cut across the residential system, with its chains of authority and responsibility, superordination and subordination. The common interest of persons bound together by these links was the success of the marriage, and the well-being of the children. A quarrel between a man and his wife led to processes of discussion, deliberation and conciliation involving the two groups. The children of the marriage grew up knowing not only where they belonged politically, but also where they were welcome as sister's sons and daughter's sons. Some children were sent to the father's mother to be reared, some to the mother's mother. The pregnancies of the woman were reported to her own relatives as well as to her husband's.

[554] It is impossible to tell to what extent people consciously planned their marriages and the marriages of their children with the object of ramifying their affinal ties. But we do know that a wife who had been brought from a long way off was regarded more highly than one who came from the same village as her husband, and that a woman who married her cross-cousin was, other things being equal, lower in status than her husband's unrelated other wives. These gradations in status suggest that the value of a marriage which established a link between a man and some hitherto unconnected

¹⁹ Wiese, *op. cit.* 'Expedição . . .', p. 473, and 'Geschichte . . .', pp. 191-2.

593 brew beer when her husband asks her. In addition to this minimal amount of required co-operation, in many instances husband and wife have a great deal in common. They may go to church or visit a relative, or even go together to a beer party.

[586] The obligation on a man to clothe his wife is the most clear-cut and obvious duty in marriage. It is the failure to clothe that is usually cited as evidence of desertion when a woman seeks a divorce. There is no specific standard to which he must clothe her, but she usually insists that she is not to be more poorly clad than are her neighbours. Clothes consisted in the old days of skins and barkcloth, but cloth was introduced by Arabs before the Europeans arrived, and was used as a form of currency by the early European settlers. A few people still wear skins, but only on top of Western clothing. [386] There is no indigenous weaving, and all clothes have therefore to be bought in the shops.

342 The man takes the initiative in finding a hut in which he and his wife live, and it is he who undertakes the major work of repair. 356 Houses, if made of bamboo, last for about twenty years, but require rethatching, while pole and mud huts last about eight years only. 462 When a couple begin to live together they usually borrow an empty hut in the village, asking the man or woman who is looking after the hut if they can move in. No charge can be made for the loan of a hut. [597] If the marriage begins uxorilocally, and the woman has previously been living in a dormitory, she may ask the other girls in the dormitory to go and sleep elsewhere until her husband can build her a hut of her own. The man does the work of marking out the site, digging the foundations, cutting the trees for the framework, and so on. All these are men's jobs, and he may be assisted in the work by his male neighbours and relatives. His wife gathers thatching grass, but the men do the actual thatching. The finishing of the house is entirely the wife's work, and she usually gets her friends and relatives to help her plaster the walls and floor. The maintenance of the plaster remains her responsibility and she ought to renew the floor every month after she has menstruated.

593 Every wife ought to have her own garden, and, sooner or later, 493 her own storehouse. Most young people acquire gardens of their 341 own long before they marry, but continue to pool the produce of the 343 garden with the adult responsible for feeding them. This arrangement continues after marriage, and the incoming spouse at first merely assists in the garden of the other and is fed from the common storehouse of his or her parents or relatives. If a woman has been living with her grandmother and her husband comes to live with her, the couple draw on the wife's grandmother's storehouse for their food, and place the produce of the wife's garden in it. Similarly, in virilocal marriage, a woman may at first help in her husband's garden and draw from his mother's storehouse. But after a year or two, if a man is not to be despised as a sluggard, he must build a storehouse in the village where they have settled, and see that there is

an adequate garden for his wife. He may clear a fresh garden on rejuvenated land, or enlarge his own or his wife's garden, depending on how they are placed. It is usually not until much later in the marriage that a man starts a garden of his own, distinct from the one nominally owned by his wife. The work of clearing a new place for a garden is not, among the Ngoni, necessarily a man's job, and can be undertaken by a woman alone if she has no man to assist her. If the husband is present, he does most of the tree felling, and his wife breaks up the new ground with her hoe.

The planting, weeding, and cultivating are all done by both men and women, and during the wet season a man goes to the garden with his wife early in the morning and they both work there until they are tired. Later, when the growing crop has to be protected against monkeys by day and wild pigs by night, they both spend long hours on watch in the garden shelter. At harvest, both cut down the maize and lift the ground crops, but only the woman can carry the produce to the village. If the man helps, it is by bringing a cart or sledge and taking home a large load pulled by oxen.

In the other subsistence pursuits of animal husbandry and hunting, there is no co-operation between husband and wife until the animals have been killed, when the woman has to cook the meat. Hunting is entirely a male occupation, and animal husbandry largely so. If a man goes away on a journey, he leaves his cattle in charge of his son or brother or father rather than with his wife. If there is no trustworthy man available, then they become his wife's responsibility, but all she in fact does is to see that the senior herdboys report to her every evening about the state of the beasts. Small stock such as goats and sheep and pigs may be looked after entirely by the wife, and chickens are likely to be in her care.

A man looks to his wife to feed him, and it is considered a reflection on her industry if he does not get enough and has to hang about when his companions are eating in the hope that they will invite him to join them. She feeds him within the exigencies of the food-supply, which often involves semi-starvation in February and March. She is expected to cook competently, and if a woman continually burns the porridge which forms the basis of every meal, there will be strife between her and her husband. If she proves to be a really bad cook her husband may send her home again to be taught properly.

Beer-brewing is the work of women, and is a process lasting at least six days even after all the correct ingredients have been mustered. There is some variation with status in the extent to which husbands require their wives to brew beer, and it is in any case a matter in which the woman can take the initiative. Important men and chiefs who have many visitors like to be able to offer beer to their guests, so that queens spend much time brewing. But common men need to conserve their food supplies more carefully, and know that their visitors will be disappointed but not surprised if there is no beer. A woman sometimes brews to sell the beer and gain money to buy herself clothes, if her husband has no money to give her.

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village to another. An indication of the relative frequency with which different types of marriage residence occur is given by Table XIII. This table is based on all the extant marriages involving the 98 married men whose wives were known and the 175 married women, as shown in Tables III and IV. A distinction is made in Table XIII between those marriages in which the man lived with his wife or in a village near her and those in which the man was effectively absent.

We may now assess the relative frequency of virilocal and uxori-local residence by extracting those marriages falling into either one or other of these residential categories and by then dividing the number of virilocal contracts by the number of uxori-local. This is done in Table XIV.

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It will be seen that although there were three marriages in which both spouses lived virilocally for every one in which they both lived uxori-locally, this preponderance of virilocality was reversed in those marriages in which the man was absent. There were approximately three wives who lived uxori-locally while their husbands were away for every two who lived virilocally. This difference between the ratios in the two parts of the sample is not likely to have arisen as a chance result and may be regarded as definitely associated with the whereabouts of the husband.

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On the basis of these figures we may continue to call the Ngoni a virilocal rather than an uxori-local people, but it is evident from the last column of Table XIII that virilocal marriages amount to slightly less than half (47.3 per cent) of all extant marriages. It should also be remembered that by no means all of the couples we have classified as virilocal were living in the village of the man's father. We have included in this category all marriages in which the man had definitely stronger ties to the other inhabitants of their village than had his wife. Our definition of the uxori-local category is similar and not all uxori-local couples were living in the woman's mother's village.* A more detailed examination of the frequencies with which these different kinds of marriage residence occur will be attempted elsewhere.

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We have already noted that a man who goes to live in the village of his bride takes on the care of her garden and works in it with her. The produce of the garden is pooled with whoever was looking after the bride, and the young couple draw their food from this common store.* A man who does not intend to stay long in his wife's village will usually try to keep his own garden under cultivation near his own village and when he takes his wife back to his village he reverts to his own garden as his main source of supply. If the two villages are a long way apart this may not be practicable, or the man may find it irksome to keep two gardens going, and may lend his own to someone else on the understanding that he will be wanting it back

* See below, pp. 75f.

* See above, p. 42.

[Text continues on p. 74--analysis]

591 after a year or so. If he keeps it going himself he visits his own
321 village for a week or two at a time to tend the garden, and stores the
423 produce with a relative in the village. If, however, a man intends to
reside for many years in his wife's village, he gives away his garden
and concentrates his labours in his wife's garden. After a year
[343] or two he builds her a storehouse in her village and the couple begin
to keep their own supplies separate from those of her relatives.

431 Even when the couple have their own storehouse it is considered
262 proper if from time to time they are given maize by their parents.
If a woman living virilocally goes to visit her parents and relatives
and returns without maize or flour her husband's relatives are likely
to laugh at her and say 'She must come from a very poor family'.

591 Uxorilocal residence is described by the vernacular term *chomwene*.
606 In its most general usage this word refers to the obligations a man
owes to his wife's parents, particularly at the beginning of his
marriage. It has three specific meanings:

- (i) Uxorilocal residence.
- (ii) Assistance rendered from time to time by a man in his
wife's mother's garden.
- (iii) A hoeing party of men and women from the man's village
which works in his wife's mother's garden.

Uxorilocal residence is classed with these other two aspects of
affinal obligation and like them it can be avoided completely, shirked,
or executed in full. The extent to which the obligations are fulfilled

Table XIV. Virilocality and Uxorilocality, 1948-9

Wife's residence.	Husband's residence		Total
	Rural	Away	
Virilocal ..	72	14	86
Uxorilocal ..	24	20	44
Total	96	34	130
Ratio of virilocal to uxorilocal wives	3	0.7	1.95

Association between husband's residence and wife's residence

$\chi^2 = 12.83$ $P < .001$

Informants as in Table XIII

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AFRICAN LAND USAGE

The great escarpment area of the Eastern Province,
 much of it inaccessible and uninhabitable, except for small pockets of fertile soil, was opened to unrestricted settlement by the Ambo and Senga-Kunda peoples. Other areas of poor soils and low carrying capacities in Fort Jameson District were also opened to free settlement up to a population total determined by the carrying capacity.

[731] In Ndola District an area was opened to immediate uncontrolled settlement, in order to relieve acute land shortage and actual starvation in one section of the Reserve.

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[312] A somewhat modified method has been used in parts of Petauke District where dams are the only means of providing water. Here the population unit consists of three or four villages grouped into a 'parish' and settled [361] about the watering points. A single land area is demarcated for each of these [632] groups, instead of allocating a separate block to each village. This method allows of economy in the distribution of watering points, tends to reduce the effect of inter-village movements and, it is hoped, will lead to larger administrative units.

§ 7. Agricultural Control and Improvement

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[311] The general object of resettlement is to re-establish a population-land balance on the basis of traditional land usage *and the present population numbers*. Obviously, this balance cannot be permanent if the population is increasing; and if it is not increasing something is seriously wrong. Reliable vital statistics are entirely lacking but probably most of the tribes are increasing (the Ngoni may be an exception) at a rate which, judging by the very few available data, may be about 1½ per cent per annum, a rate which would double the population in forty-six years.

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Resettlement is not, and was never regarded as, a substitute for agricultural improvement. The objects are to reduce the agricultural problem to practicable proportions, to relieve acute land shortage, to give time for experiment and the introduction of new methods. The assumption is that an evolutionary process of agricultural improvement will keep pace with natural increase of population, and that this process must be guided by experiment.

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[177] Simple measures of agricultural control, and the beginnings of soil conservation and agricultural improvement, have been introduced in each of the resettlement areas as a condition of occupation. It need hardly be said that these are not popular with the majority and the existence of such conditions is a deterrent to movement.

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[185] In the case of the earlier settlements in the Fort Jameson District an elementary system of soil conservation was introduced by demarcating the land for cultivation in contour strips separated by untouched belts of grass (which acquired the name of 'ten-yardis' since the original strips were ten paces wide). This was followed by an attempt to replace the traditional mound system of Ngoni, Chewa and Senga by cultivation on ridges [241]

Mpezeni

Maravi FR4

Lamba FQ 8

AFRICAN LAND USAGE

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approximately on the contour and parallel to demarcated 'marker' ridges on the true contour. A system of contour cultivation has now been developed which is proving practical and effective. The 'marker' ridges are demarcated at a vertical interval of two feet six inches and are gradually converted by the people into more or less broad-based banks. In the first year the ridge is built up to a base width of six feet and a height of not less than six inches. The base and height are increased until a permanent bank eight feet wide at the base and eighteen inches in height is completed. Villages on the 'ten yardi' system can change over to contour cultivation if the majority of people elect to do so. New villages are allowed to move into resettlement areas in the Eastern Province only on condition that they agree to practice contour cultivation; they are given four or five years to adapt themselves to the new system but in many cases practically the whole of the new gardens are under ridges by the end of the second year. Cultivation practice has been adapted to the new system and, meanwhile, experiments are being made to find the best methods of ridging, spacing and planting of crops for use in conjunctions with the ridge cultivation system.

In the Ndola District gardens are laid off between contour grass strips at vertical intervals of two feet. The people are then encouraged to convert the grass strip into three parallel ridges approximating to the normal dimension of their mounds for subsidiary crops and to plant the ridges with beans and cowpeas; or to make one or two such ridges and plant the remainder of the strip with groundnuts on the flat—a combination of contour ridges and strip cropping. This method, an adaptation of normal Lamba practice was adopted after a series of trials to find the simplest method of erosion control acceptable to these somewhat backward people. The object is not only to check erosion but to restore the cultivation of subsidiary crops, now almost entirely neglected. The planting of the ridges to beans and cowpeas and the strips to groundnuts restores the balance between cereals and legumes and should allow of a small surplus for sale. The idea seems to be less unpopular than one might expect and most villages have made a satisfactory effort to convert the strips into ridges for the cultivation of subsidiary crops.

Contours are laid off by trained African Assistants of the Department of Agriculture, using road tracers, and it has been found necessary during the initial stages of settlement to have one or two African Assistants* for at least every ten villages or, approximately, for every 600 to 1,000 people. Constant supervision is maintained during the initial phase by the African Agricultural Assistants in co-operation with District Messengers and the Native Authorities. This supervision is irksome and resented by some of the older people but it is, perhaps, significant that at a recent meeting of the African Regional Council of the Western Province after the subject had been freely debated, the council voted by a large majority for an increase in the number of Agricultural Capitao's.

Fruit tree planting has also been introduced and in the Eastern and Western Provinces laws made by the Native Authorities require each household

* Usually one and a learner assistant at Ndola.

Mpeseni

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to clear large enough gardens at the new site in the first year a part of the old gardens can be used, for it is easy to travel back and forward between the old and new villages. The majority of the moves were of this order and no assistance was required or given. In the case of longer moves, heavy household goods and food stocks were transported by motor lorry, or in some instances when it was convenient to do so the entire grain stock was bought at the old village and food, purchased locally, was sold at the new site. This enabled the people to give the whole of their time to preparing a large garden acreage in the first year. The great majority of villages moving for moderate or long distances (twenty five to seventy miles) succeeded in preparing large enough gardens and growing sufficient food for themselves in the first year. A few did not, for one reason or another, such as starting too late, a bad season or just plain laziness, and these villages were supplied with food in the first season either in return for work or on promise of repayment after a good harvest. Less than 5 per cent of villages received such relief.

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§ 10. The Progress of Resettlement

It was estimated that, in order to restore a complete population-land balance, about 141,300 people would have to be moved from the Reserves of the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts. No such movement was, in fact, possible. The total carrying capacity of the land available for resettlement which contained a vast mass of escarpment hills and other large areas of almost useless land, was estimated to be 78,000 people. This land was, of necessity, allocated to the tribal groups in the following way:

Ngoni and Chewa :	Sufficient land for	35,000 people
Senga :	" " "	35,000 "
Ambo :	" " "	8,000 "

Thus in the case of the Ngoni and Chewa the available land was totally insufficient to allow of the restoration of a population-land balance, while in the case of the other peoples such a balance could be achieved.

Two alternatives were possible; to re-distribute the Ngoni and Chewa populations more or less evenly over the new land and the Reserves, in which case both would be over-populated in relation to their carrying capacities, or to populate the new land to the maximum of its carrying capacity, leaving the Reserves still over-populated. The latter course was adopted for a variety of reasons, including the fact that much of the new land was tsetse infested and the keeping of cattle and development of mixed farming would not be possible at least for a very considerable time. The Reserves, on the other hand, carried many cattle and, with reduction of the population by resettlement, would be able to support their populations on a basis of mixed farming.

Movement was therefore designed to populate the new areas to the maximum of their carrying capacity and to reduce the agricultural problem

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The present-day population of the tribe is about 85,000, of whom about 60,000 live in Northern Rhodesia and 25,000 in the Fort Manning area of Nyasaland.¹ In Northern Rhodesia the tribe is largely confined in two demarcated Native Reserves. In 1938 the density of population in these two reserves averaged 68 persons to the square mile,² but in some congested or very fertile areas it was 90 or more.³ Since 1941 the density has been reduced in some of the more congested parts by controlled resettlement in areas outside the reserves.⁴ The density of population of the Nyasaland section of the tribe was about 46 persons to the square mile in 1945.⁵

The region in which the Ngoni live consists of a fairly flat plateau about 3,500 feet above sea-level, with massive granite outcrops rising another 1,000 feet or more. The soils of the region are principally of the types suitable only for shifting or partial cultivation, but there are also belts of more valuable soils.⁶ In relation to the customary mode of agriculture, in which maize is the principal crop, the critical density of the land has been calculated to be about 32 persons to the square mile.⁷ The annual rainfall at Fort Jameson varies from 27 to 48 inches, averaging about 35 inches. The region contains the meeting of the Luangwa-Nyasa and Luangwa-Zambezi watersheds. Most of the streams that flow down into the Luangwa dry up in July, while the Zambezi and Nyasa streams continue to flow somewhat longer.⁸

The natural vegetation of the region consists principally of *Brachystegia-Isobertlinia* woodlands, with larger trees along the lines of streams. The mean maximum temperature for the region is about

of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. This account was prepared at Oxford, and I am very grateful to Dr. Max Gluckman for criticism of this paper in draft.

¹ In the 1945 Nyasaland census many of the people living in the two Ngoni counties were classified as Cewa. Hence the figure of 5,531 Ngoni in Fort Manning does not represent the total population of these two counties. Cf. *Report on the Census*, Table 4.

² Calculated from the figures given in the *Pim Report*, p. 364. These two reserves contain Cewa chieftainships as well as Ngoni, but the average population density of the two tribes is probably of the same order.

³ Trapnell, *Ecological Survey*, p. 72.

⁴ Fraser, *Land Resettlement*, pp. 47-9.

⁵ *Report on the Census*, Table 8. The Fort Manning District contains a Cewa chieftainship as well as the two Ngoni. The figure given above is the average for the whole district.

⁶ Trapnell, *Ecological Survey*, p. 72.

⁷ Allan, *African Land Usage*, p. 14.

⁸ Poole, *Human Geography*, pp. 1 and 2.

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132 84° F. and the mean minimum 61.5° F.¹ Three seasons are distinguished: the wet season, from the beginning of November until about April; the cold season, from May until July; and the hot season, from August until the rains begin again. Most of the planting takes place in the first half of the wet season, and the harvest comes after the rains have ceased. There is very little fishing, but antelopes, leopards, wild pig, and buck are hunted for their meat, and lions, leopards, hyenas, and monkeys on account of the damage they do to crops and livestock. The greater part of the region is free enough from tsetse fly to permit cattle-keeping, and for the tribe as a whole there is approximately one head of cattle to every two people. Pigs, sheep, goats, and chickens are also kept.

171 The material culture of the tribe is similar to that of their neighbours. They live in one- or two-roomed huts of bamboo or pole and mud; some women make pottery and some men make reed mats; 342 all buy their clothes and their hoes from the shops.² 323 285

197 Three languages are used in the region: Ci-Ngoni, a language akin to Zulu, is now heard only in songs and royal praises; Ci-Nyanja is taught in the schools and is used for communication with Europeans and Indians; while the normal language used every day in the villages is a dialect of Ci-Nsenga.

I. THE STATE

Old Administrative System

186 The Ngoni think of themselves as different from their neighbours because of their chieftainship. The other tribes do not, in the eyes 619 of the Ngoni, possess the same kind of pyramidal and centralized 642 organization which was characteristic of the régime of Mpezeni I and which persists in a modified form at the present time.

619 The important positions in the old political structure were occupied by members of the royal lineage, their queens, the regional governors,³ 631 and the lieutenants.⁴ The political system was at the same time the 554 territorial system, residence being determined by political allegiance. The pattern of residence and allegiance persisted despite the movement of the tribe as a whole from one region to another and despite

¹ Trapnell, *Ecological Survey*, pp. 2-3.² See my *Material Culture of the Fort Jameson Ngoni*.³ *Mulumunana*, pl. *alumunana*.⁴ *Nduna*, pl. *nduna*.

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replaced by new ones, but the village as a whole may be regarded as stationary. The exhaustion of garden land in the vicinity of the village is the principal reason for moving, as with the passage of time a man has to go farther and farther from the village to find new land. Sooner or later it becomes more convenient to move the village to another locality where there is plenty of regenerated land on which gardens can be made. The death of the headman is sometimes followed by a move to a new site, while quarrels within a village may cause a portion of the inhabitants to go off and live on their own, usually after the matter has been referred to the chief. Since 1898 many villages have been moved off land alienated to Whites, or away from congested areas.

When the Administration is the instigator of the move, the new village site is a matter for discussion between District Officer, county chief, and village headman. In moves made on the initiative of the villagers, the various possible new sites are reconnoitred by the headman and other important people in the village and the site chosen is notified to the chief for his approval. The first people start to make their gardens in the vicinity of the site, and work is started on the new village. For this a recently abandoned garden site may be chosen, as it is easier to clear. The first structure to be built is usually a cattle byre. Making a byre is very hard work, and I was told that if it was left till later it would be difficult to get people to tackle the job. Rattray, writing of Gomani's Ngoni of central Nyasaland, relates how the headman's hut is built before the others, but this custom appears to be unknown in Fort Jameson District.¹

Building is begun by the more industrious before the rains end, and is completed after the harvest. The transition from the old site to the new one is gradual, as, unless the distance between the sites is too great, people will continue working the gardens in the old area until they are exhausted. New gardens are indeed opened up on the old site of the village, and it is quite common to see the ground dug up between the huts at the end of the rains while there are people still living there.

¹ Rattray, *Folk-Lore Stories*, pp. 109-11. Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People*, pp. 203-5, gives an account of the building of a new village among Mombasa's Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, in which the cattle byre was built first, but it must be remembered that this was a village built round a central byre, after the fashion of the South-Eastern Bantu, whereas the cattle byre in a Fort Jameson village is nowadays a smaller affair placed on the outskirts of the village.

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- 361 Huts sometimes become infested with ticks, or the site itself may prove to be intolerably damp. New huts are then built a short distance away or even contiguously to the old site, and no new gardens are made apart from those made among the deserted huts.

Internal Segmentation of the Village

- 361 We have already seen that the divisions within the village are
621 embryonic new villages. These divisions are most formally indicated in the Nyasaland counties, where there are large villages divided into a distinct number of divisions, with the spatial boundaries between the divisions indicated by a greater interval between the huts, and with each division named and under the charge of a lieutenant or of a patrilineal kinsman of the headman. On the Rhodesian side, however, it is more usual to find that certain small clusters of huts within a village are regarded as being the division of such-and-such a person living in one of them. The bulk of the huts in the village do not belong to any particular cluster but merely to the village as a whole. These clusters do not have any name apart from that of their senior inhabitant, whose close relatives occupy the huts of the cluster. The leader of a cluster may be a lieutenant of the headman or merely some important person with a comparatively large body of dependants. Such clusters, which are often on the periphery of the village, sometimes originate from the grouping together by a polygynist of the huts of his various wives, and grow as their children marry and live alongside their parents. Another mechanism for the formation of clusters is that
[166] of immigration into the village at about the same time by a number of persons related to each other more closely than to the other inhabitants of the village, as, for example, on the break-up of some other village. The immigrants tend to build together if there is room. In this case the leader of the cluster may have little standing in the village. The boundaries of clusters are not always plainly indicated, while a man who is ambitious to make his own village may as a first step try to increase the clarity with which his cluster is defined spatially.

Land Utilization

- 311 We may divide gardens into three types: main, old village, and moist.
●241 The moist gardens are made near streams, and are fenced to keep out cattle. Tomatoes, cabbages, onions, and other vegetables are grown, and maize is planted during the hot season so that it can be harvested in December or January. These gardens are cultivated only by the

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more industrious and usually with a view to sale of vegetables in Fort Jameson. The sites last for many years and are usually abandoned because of the removal of the owner's village to a distant place rather than because of exhaustion of the soil. 311 241 ●

Old-village gardens are made on the site of former huts and byres, in order to take advantage of the high fertility of the soil. These gardens are not usually fenced, except when they are made on the outskirts of some existing village on the site of an old byre. Tobacco is sometimes grown, but for the most part they are cultivated in the same way as are main gardens. The site belongs to the former owner of the hut or byre, so long as the garden continues to be worked. [423]

Main gardens are made from bush clearings, and are chosen with some regard to the type and quantity of the natural vegetation. Land that has been abandoned for long enough, say twenty-five years, regains its natural cover, and if the ownership of former gardens has been forgotten, it is treated as though it were virgin woodland, that is, it is permissible for anyone who wishes to come and cultivate it. A new village site is chosen to be near, if possible, an ample amount of such regenerated land, and at the first selection of gardens the headman of the village may go round the area and see where the new gardens are being made. Gardens tend to be within 2 miles of the village, but there is no one definite area that is associated with a particular village, so that if there are a number of villages in proximity, the gardens of their inhabitants will be intermingled. A man exercises a lien on the area of uncleared land round his garden, and may take up this land himself as he enlarges his garden. Hence at first there are considerable belts of bush left between one garden and the next. With the passage of time, these are cleared, and gardens become contiguous, with boundaries between them that are almost imperceptible at first glance. At the same time as enlargements are made, the least productive parts of the gardens are neglected, so that, as the years go by, the area cultivated by one man may gradually change its position, and fresh areas of resting-land will appear between the gardens. Main gardens vary in size from about 1 to 3 acres. [423] [361] [425]

If a man moves into a village and wishes to start a garden, he is usually given part of the garden of the person to whom he is attached in the village. A son returning from the mines may be given part of his father's garden. Conversely when someone leaves the village, his garden passes to his relatives. In particular, when a man dies, his 423

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423 widows continue to cultivate the gardens they had before his death. When a man opens up a new garden he may hand over his nearly exhausted old garden to some relative who does not wish to go to the labour of clearing new ground himself. Rights in land cannot be sold, but only given away, and no presents are given to the donor by the recipient of a garden or garden site. They can only be sustained by continued residence in the locality, either by the owner of the rights himself or by his relatives. There are very few court cases concerned with rights in land, and in the courts the only attempt I saw in which a man tried to enforce what he thought to be his rights was met by the statement from the bench that no one had any rights in land, for did not all land belong to the chief?

241 Maize is planted at the beginning of the rains, and the garden is usually weeded twice over before the maize has grown high enough to surmount the weeds. When the rains end, the stalks are felled and put into large stooks to dry. The cobs are then taken off the stalks and carried back to the village to be stored. Finger millet is grown in ash-fertilized patches scattered through the main garden, and in between the maize ground-nuts, pumpkins, and other crops are grown. Sorghum, bulrush millet, and rice are also grown. Most of the work in the garden is carried on in the rainy season, and after the harvest the garden is more or less deserted until the next season, although a certain amount of new land may be cleared as a garden extension.

Dwellings outside the Village

361 There are two types of settlement outside the recognized villages that require mention. These are permanently occupied settlements consisting of two or three huts which I shall refer to as hamlets and temporarily occupied huts in the gardens. The hamlets usually arise [578] as a result of quarrels within a village that are resolved by the breaking away of one of the parties to the quarrel. The activities of the Agricultural Department have also led to the formation of hamlets of similar [648] size, both of hamlets of persons accepting agricultural control whose co-villagers have all moved off, and the other way about. These hamlets are all attached to proper villages for registration purposes, and participate in many of the collective activities of the villages near by.

221 The damage done to crops in the latter part of the rainy season necessitates the keeping of a continuous watch, particularly at gardens that are on the edge of a cultivated area, in order to drive off the [361] monkeys by day and the wild pigs by night. Shelters are erected on [241]

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the edge of gardens, and some people spend most of their time there, returning to the village only to fetch food. Beer parties are held in the gardens, and the villages, particularly in the middle of the week, are largely deserted during the day. One or two boys or old men may stay behind to look after the cattle. Streams are in spate at this time of year, and some men build garden byres to which they move their cattle to avoid the risk of the animals or their herdboys being taken by the water.

This life in the gardens is important from the point of view of inter-village action in that it provides an opportunity for new residential groups to form, albeit temporarily. People without garden shelters of their own may share the shelter of a neighbouring gardener, who may be from another village. People may site their gardens so that they are adjacent to those of kindred from other villages, with whom they will be united for this period of garden residence. Thus, for example, a woman who lives in her husband's village has a widowed mother still living in her dead husband's village a mile away. The gardens of the mother and daughter are adjacent, and they both possess garden huts which are built alongside one another. They co-operate in much of the work of their gardens.

With the completion of the harvest, the need for living in the garden ceases, but some people delay their return to the village for a month or so. The explanation given is that immediately after the end of the rains and the harvest, there is much activity by the Administration and the Native Authority in organizing public works, and that by staying on in the gardens people hope to avoid becoming involved in these projects.

Cattle-keeping

The circular village cattle byre, with the dwelling huts built round it in a great circle, as occurs among the South-Eastern Bantu and as reported by Elmslie¹ from Mombera's Ngoni of Nyasaland, is not found at the present time among the Fort Jameson Ngoni. Most villages now have two or three separate cattle byres, and they are placed on the periphery of the village area. They consist of fenced enclosures open to the weather, with a single entrance blocked with poles, and may be up to 20 yards across. Calves are kept in smaller enclosures or in deserted dwelling huts whose owners have gone away or are dead. Where there are well-defined clusters of huts within a village, each cluster may have its own byre, but this is not always the case. Cattle

¹ Elmslie, p. 37.

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sophisticated informant remarked: 'The Cewa are just slaves, they merely eat. The Ngoni are like the Whites; they eat little and drink much.'

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Economic Co-operation

There are other activities which entail inter-village ties. Cattle seek their own fodder, but small stock, pigs, goats, and sheep, are fed on husks and other scraps. A man whose animals have increased beyond his ability to feed them will farm out some of them to his friends, either in his own village or in some neighbouring one. The tender of the animals then exercises some control over the disposal of any natural increase and at the end of the arrangement he is entitled to be given one of the animals. The friends whom a man selects for this task are not always close relatives, and may sometimes be people to whom he can trace no genealogical relationship at all, but whom he may have met, for instance, in Southern Rhodesia. Other people acquire a reputation for integrity, and may be given animals to look after by their acquaintances. Cattle are not disposed of so widely, and there is more often a kinship connexion between the owner and the tender. On the other hand, cattle are more susceptible than small stock to tsetse fly, and in consequence there are many people in the new areas that have been recently resettled who have to keep their cattle in the village of a relative or friend who lives in an area free from fly.

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Harvesting of crops is carried out by members of the household except in the case of the aged, who will call on their relatives to help them. Hut-building, making a new section of a garden, clearing the ground prior to planting, and, in particular, weeding the garden during the wet season, are activities that are often carried out by collective effort. Women, particularly pairs of widows, may work together in each other's gardens turn and turn about, and a man may be able to call on relatives, particularly his sons-in-law, to help in his garden without paying them for it. Most of the outside assistance that may be required in a garden is raised by means of a beer-party. The man's wife brews beer, and it is made known in the village and round about that on such-and-such a day there will be a party to hoe in their garden. A dozen or so people go to the garden in the morning, and work until the task set by the owner of the garden is completed. They then move to the village, and are refreshed with beer. Attendance at the beer-party is not restricted to those who have worked in the garden, and at some such parties a jar of beer may be specifically allocated to

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- 241 those who have not been working. Some people choose to do their
273 work in the garden on the day previous to the party, on the theory
476 that working and drinking do not go together. A few people offer
baskets of ground-nuts or other crops or meat in return for a day's
[465] labour, and monetary payments are also known.

Craftsmen

- 463 There are a number of specialized occupations which give rise to
inter-village trading. Pots are made by women. Some villages have no
323 potter and their inhabitants are dependent on pot-makers in neigh-
[462] bouring villages. Sometimes a woman may acquire a reputation for
pot-making sufficiently high to attract custom even from villages
where there are already pot-makers. Pots are sold in return for their
own volume of maize, or for money, or the customers may be required
to provide sufficient clay for twice the amount of pottery that they
wish to obtain.

- 285 Basketry is a man's craft, and at the end of the rainy season, when
[462] it is necessary to watch all day in the gardens for monkeys, men with
this skill spend their time at it. Baskets are sold for money or for maize,
and, as with pottery, there is a certain amount of inter-village sale.

- 759 Herbalists draw their clients from a wider area than do the pot- and
basket-makers, and their contacts with their patients are more intense.
If a man falls sick, the remedies known in the family are tried first, but
if these are unsuccessful he may go to someone who is known for his
wide knowledge of medicines. Patients will travel up to 15 miles or
so to consult a herbalist, who may require them to live in his village
to receive treatment. Payment for medical treatment is sometimes
demanded part in advance, but other practitioners ask for a fee only
when a cure has been effected. Since the establishment of medical
[648] services by the Administration the way has been open for the medical
orderlies to operate in opposition to the herbalists, using misappropriated European drugs.

III. THE FAMILY

Principles of Descent

- 611 The Ngoni are traditionally a patrilineal patrilocal people paying
[591] bride-wealth with cattle. This tradition is reflected in modern practice
[583] only to a limited extent. Many of the men and women who were
[184] incorporated after Zwangendaba had crossed the Zambezi came from

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701 national basis to include all the adolescent males in the tribe, what-
ever their origin. Women were grouped into corresponding regi-
182 ments. This system broke down after the first World War, when so
many young men went away in the fighting. To-day the great exo-
167 dus is not to war but to work, to the mines of Southern Rhodesia
and elsewhere, and the incidence of labour migration is so high
[162] that it is not unknown to find a village in which there is no adult
male resident. Part of the exodus is seasonal, and many men and
241 women, as well as children, find employment on the tobacco farms
464 of the district and in Fort Jameson Township.

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241 The staple crop is maize, of which enough is grown to pro-
432 vide in good years for a small surplus for sale to the tobacco farms
and the Administration. Tobacco is not grown by Africans for sale,
except within the villages, but vegetables and a little rice and fin-
231 ger millet are sold to Europeans. Cattle are kept in the fly-free
[583] areas, and play an important but diminishing part in social life as
the means of paying bridewealth, but the sale of cattle is not at
[681] present a regular affair. Their principal use is as a form of capital
investment that can be called up to meet damages and fines awarded
by the Courts.

161 The population of the tribe is about 60,000, the majority liv-
131 ing in the Ngoni and Msandile Reserves, both near to Fort /5/ Jame-
son. The remainder live on the tobacco farms or in Fort Jameson
Township. Villages vary in size from settlements of three or four
621 huts to large clusters containing up to 500 people. The average size
of a village is about thirty huts with a population of 100.

611 The Ngoni conquerors reckoned descent in the male line,
while most of the people whom they conquered and with whom they
married traced descent through the mother. To-day for practical
[198] purposes, descent is omnilateral, in that any connection through a
male or female ancestor can be made use of as the occasion demands.

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[862] With both bamboo and pole huts, the construction of the walls and roof is the work of men, while women are responsible for plastering walls, floor and verandah, and for collecting the grass for the roof. Pole huts are more often than not plastered on the outside as well as on the inside of the /6/ wall, and [353] women like to make designs on them in plasters of different colour, with inscriptions and drawings.

[221] The favourite time for hut building is from June to September, when there is comparatively little work to do in the gardens. A man may undertake the major part of the work himself, but if his wife is co-operative and brews beer, he will also get his friends to come and [474] help him, as a working party. Perhaps fifteen or twenty people will come, the men cutting and carrying poles and fixing them in place, the women bringing grass for thatching. If many people attend, then the walls will be put up, and the thatching started, but if the friends are few, then the beer will be finished while the roof of the house is still not thatched, and the owner will have to finish the work himself. In any case, he will need to offer at a later date, either more beer, [465] or salt, or meat, or sometimes money, to women to come and plaster the walls and floor. Building may however be an operation spread over many months, and if the work is started late in the season, the rains may come before the roof is on. In this case, the building may be left until the following year, when there is again time to spare for building, and good supplies of thatching grass are available. Alternatively, the owner may become discouraged, and use the poles for firewood. A well-built pole hut will last five years and a bamboo hut longer.

343 Storehouses are built of bamboo or of thick grass, and are sometimes plastered. They have a detachable roof that acts as a lid, and the whole construction is built on a plastered platform about two feet off the ground. Separate storehouses are used for each household and for different crops, maize, finger millet, kaffir-corn and ground-nuts. If a man has two maize gardens, he may keep the produce in [592] separate storehouses. Unmarried and newlywed persons store with [241] their parents. Storehouses last two or three years.

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Beds are owned in general by the younger generation only, and then at the rate of one per household. Otherwise, everyone sleeps on the floor on a reed mat. During the day, the mat is rolled up except when needed for drying flour in the sun. These mats are made from reeds that grow near streams. The reeds are split in four, and are threaded with a thin rope made from the inner bark of the nzizi tree. Wooden headrests are now a rarity, and if any headrests at all is used, it is a European pillow. Blankets, quilts and, less frequently, sheets, are bought from stores.

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The chief tool for use in the garden is the hoe. Ruins of furnaces for smelting iron ore are still to be seen, but are not now used, and are said to have been worked in the old days only by Chewa slaves. Hoe blades are bought in the stores, and hafted with a handle made in the village. Handle making is a man's job, but one that every man knows how to do. Axes are made from blades bought in the store, or else from a worn down hoe blade, with a home-made handle. Adzes are used for mortar making, and young boys make miniature adzes as toys. A pointed blade hafted on to the end of a straight handle is used for making holes in the ground when building.

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Sledges and, less commonly, unarticulated carts with solid wheels are made for transporting the harvest from the fields to the village, and for collecting firewood. These are pulled by cattle, not always oxen, using simple yokes made of wood and sinew, with a wooden drawbar.

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Hunting is carried on in the dry season, particularly towards the end, when the grass burns easily. Guns of varying degrees of antiquity are used, but none of these are made by Ngoni, although the Chewa still make guns. On a hunt, the rank and file are armed with throwing spears and knobkerries. The gun carriers walk about two hundred yards in front of the main body, who are spread on a single line at right angles to the line of advance. The leader of

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504 after moving other beans out of a hole. A boys' game played in the wet season is played with egg-shaped pieces of mud, with a small flange at one end. These pieces are thrown down on to the water, and ought to make an explosive noise.

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[221] Maize, the main crop, is planted with the first steady rains in November, and is harvested soon after the end of the rains in April or May. Under the influence of the Agricultural Department of the [242] Government, planting in small ridges following the contour is increasingly practised, but prior to the introduction of this and other new agricultural methods in the 1930s, planting was carried out in mounds about three feet in diameter and eighteen inches high. Finger millet is grown on patches of soil on which branches and garden trash have been burnt. However, the citemene system, as known in other parts of the country, in which trees are felled over a wide area and burnt to fertilise a small area in the middle, is not practised as a principal method here. Finger millet is the only crop to be planted solely in ash fertilised patches, while the rest of the cleared ground may be planted with beans and nuts, and in the following season, with maize. Gardens last from two up to twenty or more years, depending on the type of soil, and the selection of a garden site is determined to some extent by the nature of the soil and of the vegetation growing on it.

244 In seepage areas, dry season gardens can be cultivated, and it is in such gardens, fenced in to keep out straying animals, that vegetables are grown for sale to Europeans and in the villages. These sites are also used for early planted maize, which is harvested in January and eaten in the form of green mealies. In the villages [245] themselves, small plots of tobacco and castor oil are grown on old hut sites, while abandoned village sites are used as subsidiary gardens for maize and other crops. Mango, banana, and pawpaw trees are 245 found in villages and on the sites of abandoned villages.

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•241 The busiest time of the year in the garden is at the beginning of the rains, when there is much work to be done planting and weeding, and scaring away the monkeys and wild pigs. Later on, in the new year, after the garden has been weeded twice, it is possible to think of enlarging the garden at one edge, and if it is not too late, the newly cleared portion may be planted with a catch crop. Weeding and clearing new ground are both activities that are carried out to some extent co-operatively, either on a mutual help basis between two women, or more frequently in return for beer provided by the owner of the garden. On the day before the party, a few men and women come to the garden and do their share of the work in advance, in the belief that it is better not to have to work and drink on the same day. The next day, the bulk of the party arrive at the garden, and the wife of the owner brings out a pot of beer from the village. When the first half of the garden has been finished, there is a pause, and the beer is drunk. On completion of the whole garden, the party returns to the village and drinking begins in earnest. It is not necessary to have worked in the garden to be able to attend the subsequent drinking, and the well-mannered host will specifically set aside certain pots of beer for those who have not been to the garden.

[136] [416] /12/ Towards the end of the rains, there is less cultivating to be done, but the ravages of wild animals become more serious, and many families sleep for two or three months in the garden, returning to the village only to obtain food. Garden shelters are simple open-sided affairs with a thatched roof, but those owners who intend to sleep in their gardens for a long time, build small circular huts as in the village, or conical shelters with the roof reaching to the ground. [342] [117] A few lookout platforms built in trees are used as vantage points for spotting wild animals. If a man has a garden a long way from the village, particularly across a stream which will be in spate in the late rains, he may build a byre for his cattle at the garden.

Maize and ground-nuts are the first crops to be harvested, and later finger millet, root crops, and finally kaffir-corn. Maize is stooked before the cobs are removed, and these are then dried on platforms before being carried to the village to be stored.

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252 The maize is shelled as required, the grains are pounded in a mortar, and then soaked in water for three or four days, if there is time. They are then pounded again, and the flour winnowed out.

[231] The residue is ground between two stones. The husks obtained after the first pounding are used as animal fodder, and in beer making.

[243] The diligent housewife pounds twice a week, each pounding lasting for about three hours. It is usual for a group of women living as neighbours to pound at the same time, singing together.

[461] The maize flour is dried in the sun, and then put into a pot or basket until required for porridge or beer. Porridge forms the basis of most meals, although in February and March there may not be enough maize left in the storehouses to make this possible. Adults

262 eat porridge in solid form, kneading handfuls of it between their fingers before eating, but infants are fed on fluid porridge made from

[244] the ground flour. The herdboys in charge of the cattle may use the milk to make their porridge with. Cooking is women's work, but

[253] men by themselves on a journey or working on the tobacco farms will cook porridge for themselves. Green mealies, usually fried, are eaten when available.

263 Relish is required to go with the porridge, the commonest relishes being pumpkin leaves and hibiscus leaves. There are in addition many wild fruits and leaves searched for in the bush at their appropriate seasons, while the gardens provide pumpkins, cucumbers,

• 272 various kinds of beans and peas, and edible gourds. The most sought-after relish, and one of the most infrequently found, is meat. Chick-

272 ens are given to honoured visitors, while beef, mutton, pork, and goat meat are eaten when they can be found. Livestock other than chickens are killed for eating only on ceremonial occasions, such as

[281] funerals or marriages, but owners not infrequently kill animals and sell the meat to raise money to pay damages, to finance a journey, or to obtain labour in the garden. Animals that die are usually eaten.

285 Some people keep ducks, pigeons and tame guinea fowl, while such game as is killed on the /13/ hunt is divided among the hunters and

294 taken home to be eaten. Owners of guns sometimes hunt by themselves and sell the meat.

VL.—*The Zulu of Nyasaland: their Manners and Customs.* By the Rev. DONALD FRASER, of the Livingstonia Mission.

[Read before the Society, 20th February, 1901.]

101 I SHALL take you to-night into British Central Africa, and describe slightly, a most interesting nation of warriors who live in
13 West Nyasaland. To reach them we sail up the Zambezi, and the Shire to Lake Nyasa. Landing at Bandawe, we strike inland for two days, climbing most of the way. After passing through richly wooded hills and valleys, we arrive at a great plateau, veined by constant sudden ravines through which rivers roar in the wet season, and trickle in the dry. The plateau is almost bared of trees, and is relieved by huge rocky hills which rise precipitously, from the plain. A low scrub covers the face of the land except where
• [24] gardens are being cultivated, and the whole country is dotted by innumerable ant hills, each as large as a cottage. These are hoed by the villagers, and throughout most of the year, stand out gaunt and bare. Then the landscape is thirsty and inhospitable looking. The earth baked and hard, lies unclothed in the blazing sun. Cattle,
[23] sheep, and goats, wander about the river beds, and one looks almost in vain for any sign of vegetation to afford them food. But when the first rains come, the land breaks into smiling. The scrub puts on a dress of the richest green. The gardens and ant hills are
[24] covered with springing maize, and a thick garment of foliage, vegetation, and flowers, hides every vestige of the ground. Here we stand from 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. In the cold season, the thermometer falls as low as 40°, and in the hot, rises as high as 98°. But though the sun has a dangerous bite in midsummer, the heat is never oppressive, and the nights are cool and refreshing.

101 The people who live in this country, are a branch of the Zulu
175 tribe, who started north 70 or 80 years ago on a great raid. The causes which led them to desert their own country are wrapped in mystery, and even the old men who can remember the days when they crossed the Zambezi, are unable to give any clear account of their starting. Probably it arose from one of the wars of Chaka, in

The art of cultivating the ground is only now being learned by the Ngoni. Formerly this was the work of the slaves. The masters know how to kill not to till. The soil is fairly rich though not nearly so fertile as what is found at the lake shore and in the deep valleys between. Maize is the great crop. But owing to the devastation of locusts for several years in succession, the Ngoni have learned to plant also reserve gardens of ka'ava, for the locusts and drought can scarcely affect this crop. A great variety of vegetables is cultivated, peas, beans, tomatoes, pumpkins, and so on. I have counted a variety of twenty-two different vegetables in the gardens beside one village.

These vegetables are used as relish, but the staple food is always maize porridge, and a tasty dish it is. The maize is well cleaned, ground into a fine flour, and when cooked by a clever woman makes a most tempting dish of white porridge. The relish may consist of a piece of stewed fowl or goat, or well boiled vegetable. The greatest dainty that was ever offered to me was a dish of lovely maize porridge with relish of stewed caterpillars. I did without the relish on that occasion. An interesting thing about these caterpillars is that they live on the top of trees, and the natives, to get at them, will hew down the tree. You can see how delicate a dish it makes if every caterpillar in the dish has been got at the cost of a tree. They take the place of the old European dish of peacocks cooked in their feathers.

No native thinks he has eaten until he has had his porridge. A missionary whom I know once unwisely gave a feast to his elders, feeding them on European food. They ate till they could eat no more, then stretching themselves, and after politely expressing their satisfaction by audible sounds of satiety, they rose and said, "We must now go home to our porridge."

The maize and vegetables are grown with very little trouble, but there is also a species of millet which is largely cultivated, and at great cost to the country. The ground has to be carefully prepared, trees are hewn down in the hot season, and left to dry up in the blazing sun. The whole patch of garden is covered over with these trees and the branches, then when the first clouds appear, the wood is fired. For a day it blazes, and then during the gathering of the clouds the atmosphere is thick with the smoke of burning trees. The rains come and wash the carbon into the soil, and it makes an excellent fertiliser. But the crop exhausts the ground in two or three years, so another patch of

their anger and propitiate them. Yet this recognition is not made in any degree of affection but in the times of dark necessity. When the rain has not fallen, when locusts swarm and eat up their crops, when sickness and death are abroad in the village, the spirits are working out their vengeance for being neglected. Then they are remembered and sacrifice is made. There are also certain ceremonial observances on important occasions. Before the gardens are hoed, and when the reaping time draws near; if an army is going out to battle, or when a coronation takes place, then prayer is made. The confusion of the old and new ideas was amusingly illustrated at the last coronation ceremony, when Mperembe, the eldest sub-chief, sacrificed a bull, and offering it to the spirit of the dead chief prayed him to bless the new chief, then added, "and, O Mombera, bless the teachers when they go about teaching the people the words of God." There was something very beautiful in this recognition of Christianity as but a fuller shining of the dim light they had.

Their old men are full of stories and traditions, some of them are uncommonly like the stories of Uncle Remus, and others with a curious echo of Old Testament story. There is a hill near Ekwendeni, where tradition says a great tower was built by the Tumbuka to reach into the moon. But the white ants ate away the foundation and the tower fell and the people were killed. I passed below this hill when I was on my way home, and chafed my carriers on trying to build so great a tower with wood. They laughed, and said, "But do you know the story of the hill over there?" pointing to the north. No, I said, what is it? And they told me how that long ago the Tumbuka found the country too narrow, so they decided to climb into heaven and cultivate new gardens there. So they gathered the nation together and cut down all the trees, and began to build a huge tower on this hill. When they had got a great way up, some cried "Stop, we need build no more. Here is a ladder coming down out of heaven." And they looked up and saw great roots hanging down. So the people caught hold of these roots and began climbing hand over hand up to heaven. But suddenly while they were all climbing, the roots broke, and the nation fell to the earth and was snuffed out.

Like other children of nature there are men and women in the tribe who seem to have a wonderful gift of second sight. Forty years ago a regiment went out on a great raid. The witch doctor in blessing them told them that they would meet a white man